

120 Theology vol 88
CO-ADAMITAE: *K*

O R,

An ESSAY

To Prove the Two following

PARADOXES,

V I Z.

I. That there were other MEN
created at the same Time with
ADAM.

II. That the ANGELS did not
FALL, as has been generally
Asserted.

L O N D O N :

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TO THE
R E A D E R.

AS the Present is an Age fertile of Novelties, it is not apprehended, there can be any Occasion for an Apology for midwifeing out the present Paradoxes ; Subjects which have engaged more Pens and Languages than One in their Defence : Nor is it necessary to publish the Name of the Author, as he was not one that made any considerable Figure in public Life, tho' by his Management of the Arguments, he had not been probably a Disgrace to any Post, to which he might have been advanced : But such as they are, unalter'd, even in some difficult Passages, without fulsome Commendations, or flying for Protection to rich Insolence, they
venture

TO the READER.

*venture into the World, as it is hoped,
of Use to the Undertaker, for whose
Benefit they are design'd; for as to the
Person who communicates these Pa-
pers, he is not solicitous as to their
Fate, should the Attempt fail: He
only requests with the Poet,*

——— *Si quid novisti rectius istis,
Candidus imperti, si non, his utere mecum.*

*Lady-day,
1732.*



CO-ADAMITAE:

O R,

Men besides Adam.

NO sooner had God spangled the Heavens with Stars, and dressed the World with Beauty, than he makes Man to reap the Pleasures which it bountifully yielded; being unwilling to usher him in, before he had sufficiently embellished it: And then, he is unwilling to bestow its Empire on any but Man, whom he had every way fitted for this Employment; making him a Creature capable of the noblest Undertakings, and endowing him with Reason; by whose direction he was able to behave himself bravely. God having thus attired the World, calls upon *Adam* to govern; not alone, but attended with a Train of his own proper Kind. For although it be now fancied that Scripture in no part is so evident as it is here, and that God in the Beginning made none besides *Adam*, yet is this Opinion disputable, because,

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God's

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God's Almighty Providence is thereby wronged, whose Wisdom designs all his Actions for some End, nor does it like Man's Infant-Understanding ever err; but such as imagine that he made only *Adam*, unadvisedly speak him guilty of Inadvertency, for that *Deus & Natura nihil frustra faciunt*, is a received Axiom, God cannot do amiss: Discretion always guides his Arm, and Success attends his Proceedings. A needless Superfluity never was the Product of his Power. To what end did he then store the Earth with such Plenty, crowning her Brows with Chaplets of fair Flowers, and loading her Bosom with abundance of all Necessaries? The Trees were fruitful, the Fishes pregnant; Birds were not barren, and the whole Creation in such a glorious Condition, that the World ever since has expected, but not seen its equal!

To what end, I say, did God do this, if not for his minion Man, whom at first he honours with an Empire, making him Lord of the Earth? But *Adam* singly, neither could use, nor attain the Benefit of all the other Creatures, therefore there were more Men than *Adam*, some to attend his particular Service, and others which

which God distributed, to reap the Increase of more remote Parts of the Earth. Though indeed his Will be a sufficient Plea to instance in this Case; yet that he would make these Things for One, which were enough for Millions, is scarce credible; and, which renders such a Conjecture less probable is, that not only the Harvest of one, but several Hundreds of Years would be consumed without the Hand of Man, for whom they were purposely made to reap.

The Circuit of this terrestrial Globe, according to the most modest Compute of all Geographers, is 22600 *Italian* Miles; therefore the Distance betwixt the Center (where we will suppose *Adam* to be formed) and the Circumference in a direct Line, will amount to 4520 Miles. So that had *Adam* pilgrimaged hence thither, yet at the Allowance of 20 Miles every Day, it would cost him the tedious Travel of 226 Years e'er he attained his Journey's End.

If then God made none but *Adam*, this vast Plot of Ground must of necessity be for many Years uninhabited; or if *Adam* was blessed with a most numerous Issue, yet let any consider, how long it would be, e'er they could come to

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possess the most distant Parts of the World; whose Increase would be superfluous, because they missed of their proper End, which was, to be Food for Man; but God's Wisdom, which never fails to compleat its Projects with Applause, cannot be Author of such an Oversight. Man is *ζωον πολιτικον*, a sociable Creature; one whose best and sweetest Enjoyments become tedious without Company, the choicest of whose Pleasures soon prove tiresome without; it is Variety delights. It may be thought then, that God, foreseeing *Adam's* Lapse (though he had sufficiently deserved his severest Indignation, yet being once possessed of so much Favour with God, this would make his Wrath more placable) would make Men besides *Adam*, by Converse with whom the Thoughts of his lost Glory would be less troublesome; for what Balm could single *Eve* administer, or what Comfort could she alone afford, seeing she alone tempted him to touch and eat the forbidden Fruit, seeing she alone caused his Fall, and dispossessed him of all Glory?

This was Motive enough to shun her Company, and deny her his Embraces. Sorrow could not but seize on him for his Loss,
and

and the readiest Expedient to divert his Melancholy was by Company and Counsel, neither of which his Wife (the Cause of all his Grief) could administer.

God indeed, may be supposed to have reconciled them, yet to continue Amity, he may as well be supposed to use the meanest of their Fellow-Creatures.

Adam, by God's Bounty is ordained his Vicegerent here upon Earth; and invested with all conceivable Dignity by him; but that God should only bestow on him the Freedom to bear rule over a few inconsiderable silly Brutes, is scarce credible. For, as he was Man, this was his special and proper Privilege; but to lord it over Men, was a Favour none but God could confer on him; and unless he had some under his Government he was no King.

The Fowls of the Air had the Royal Eagle; Beasts the Princely Lion; and Fishes wanted not a Chief; therefore, according to this Order in Nature, *Adam* should have some of his own Species to command.

Again, if we consider, how in the World's very Infancy, and (if common Tradition holds) when there was no more than four Persons, and these of one

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one Lineage to inhabit it. If, I say, we reflect on their early Distinction of Rights, and consider how *Adam's* two Sons endeavoured themselves to gain a Property, or Interest in Things, by their several Employments, we cannot readily yield to common Opinion; since such a Distinction amongst so few Persons, being the Sons of one Father, and having the Universe freely to expatiate in, and withal (especially the Vagabonds) *Cain's* Tillage requiring more Hands (for what could his single Labour produce?) than the World had, to bring it even to an ordinary Perfection, renders that invalid.

This Opinion wants not the seeming Suffrage of Holy Writ, for when God had so compleated this beauteous Fabrick, that nothing could be desired to make it absolutely Perfect, but Man; he therefore summons the whole Trinity, *Let Us*; as if in the framing of this excellent Creature, the Sinews of their Art and Skill were to be employed; and when these embodied Angels mount the World's Theatre, they appear in Pairs; and to make their Joys more lasting, and lessen their Woes, as also to encrease Nature's Stock by Propagation, he

he created them Male and Female. *Gen.* xvii. 27. *Matt.* xix. 4. Now this Particle *them*, has not more relation to Male and Female taken together, than it has to either of them separately; so that *Moses* here in this History of the Creation, declaring how Man was made, seems not to evidence that one single Couple was then made; but, that when God made Man, he created them Male and Female; that is, he created some of them Males, others Females; for who does not know that Man, without Restriction, signifies either Male or Female? For it's probable, that that Word which is rendred *Man*, does in the Original signify the same with *Homo* in *Latin*, or *Ἄνθρωπος* in *Greek*; Man being then created Male and Female, there were more besides *Adam*: Because,

When God is about to bestow the Monarchy of the World on Man, he says, Lo, I ordain you Lords of the Fish of the Sea, over the Fowls of the Heaven, &c. he also blessed them, and said unto them, Multiply you, for behold I have given you Power to Rule. Where he speaks antecedent to *Eve* in the Plural Number.

Again, *Moses* in the 5th of *Gen.* ver. 2. having in four Chapters made a Survey
of

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of the *Jewish* Affairs for 130 Years; for he that but attentively reads over his Works, will find this is the absolute Design of his History *; affirms, that, Male and Female created he Them, and called their Name *Adam*. Where I observe, that the Word *Adam* (though upon this very Term, the most ground their Belief that *Adam* was a single Person) is not a Denomination solely appropriated to one, but is a general Notion, denoting (it may be) that all other Creatures were made by God's mere *Fiat*, out of Nothing; but Man was *Terrigenus*, formed of the Dust of the Earth; and this is *Moses's* own Assertion. And one says, † That *Adam*, in the *Hebrew* Tongue, signifies *Rubescere*, any Thing made of Red-Clay; and another, that in the *Persian* Language it signifies Man indefinitely. Hence I thus argue, God called Man, Male and Female, *Adam*, *Gen. v. 2.* because they were made of Earth; but *Eve* was not made out of the Earth. Therefore there were some made out of the Earth besides *Adam*: Because,

If *Cain's* Endeavour to surprize harmless *Abel* in the Field, for he perceiving

* *Blunt's* Exposition of the Word *Adam*.

† *Herbert's Travels*, p. 45.

that

that *Abel's* civil Behaviour won God to respect him, and that he, as it were, monopolized God's Favour: Who with a careless Kind of Shew, seem'd to scorn the best of his Offerings; *Cain*, I say, vexed at his Brother's Preferment, employs his Invention to plot his Ruin; he being possessed with a Conceit, that *Abel's* Advancement and Prosperity made *Cain* less honoured: Ambition had instructed his Malice, that to passport him hence to another World, was the safest and readiest Means to assure his own Greatness; hereupon he conceives such Anger against him, that nothing but *Abel's* Death will appease *Cain's* Wrath; and to crown his Project with Success and Safety, he awaits such a Time, when as no other Eye than that all-seeing One of Heaven beheld him; for he assassinate him privately in the Field. This Caution of *Cain's* to prevent discovery, seems to intimate, that Mankind, by a common Consent, had enacted Laws to dishearten private Malice: Therefore *Cain*, carefully acts his mischievous Design secretly, that he might more easily escape the Hue of Justice; for though, he had learnt that Murder was against the Law of Nature; yet was he

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sure she could not harm or prosecute him, so that in this Respect, he cannot be thought to have used this Stratagem; or if it be objected that his Conscience dictated to him how unnatural this Sin was, and thereupon he affected to commit this Mischief privately, yet it may be conjectured, that Solitariness would aggravate his Fear, and the Presence of *Abel* daunt or change his Resolution; for how could he have Courage to slay him, when the very Thoughts of it struck Terror to his Soul? Though indeed some may think, that out of a Reverence to his Parents, he might watch this Opportunity; yet, is it possible, that he, who durst venture to murder his innocent Brother, did fear their Displeasure? Or, that he, who scorns God himself, values his Parents Threats? If he did this not to disengage their Affections, how could he challenge Confidence enough to look on *Adam*, after he had butchered his Son? If he wanted Boldness to do it in his Presence, where could he find Words to excuse his Fault? For *Adam* missing one Son, could suspect none but the other in this Case; and who could be accused for *Abel's* Loss but *Cain*, who set upon his Brother in the Field, because he feared
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MEN *besides* ADAM. II

the Hand of Justice? Therefore there were Men besides *Adam*.

Scarce had *Cain* dyed his Hands in *Abel's* Blood, when God summons him to answer his Brother's Murder, and give an Account of this bloody Deed; but he stoutly flights God's Call, with, *Am I my Brother's Keeper?* This Obstinacy, as well as Impiety, excites God's Revenge, wherefore he forbids the Earth to yield him her wonted Store, and severely denounceth his Banishment. *Cain* at length is sensible of his Sin, and by repentant Tears, seeks to Bribe his Mercy, and to avoid his Justice, confessing that his Fault merited the worst of Punishments; yet is he earnest to implore a meeker Doom, because his Misery surmounted his Patience; for Abroad, the cold Charity of Strangers would not supply his Necessity, and the want of such a Recruit would cast him down beneath all Hopes of bettering his Fortune: But that which made his Condition most deplorable, was his Fear to be apprehended, conceiting, that whosoever found him would slay him; his Protestations to amend, cause God to use him with less Rigour, for he promiseth him Freedom from any such Mis-
C 2 chance,

12. C O - A D A M I T A E: Or,

chance, vowing to punish him sevenfold, that should dare to slay *Cain*, and he set a Mark upon *Cain*, lest any Man finding him should kill him; therefore there was some who had both Authority and Power to examine, and punish his Misdemeanor, for he fears not his Father *Adam*'s Rage; he startles at Mischances abroad, and from such as might affront him in his Travels, God promiseth to protect him; consequently there were Men besides *Adam*.

When God had assured wretched *Cain* of a safe Conduct, having perhaps *Adam*'s Promise (he might do it with great Reason) not to molest him, upon Condition *Cain* would swear to live in perpetual Exile; he leaves his native Soil, travelling to the East of *Paradise*, where he took up his Abode in the Land of *Nod*. Here *Moses* presupposes, that this Country was so named, before *Cain* journeyed thither, which then must needs be peopled, how could it otherwise be thus denominated? But if there had been none but *Adam*'s Family, from whence could it have these Inhabitants? Scarce can it be said *Cain* named it so, for here he found an End of his Travels; the Pleasantness of the Country alluring him
to

to leave off Pilgrimaging farther; but *Nod* signifies a Land of Trouble, not of Rest. If *Cain* did call this Land, *Nod*, it was because he coming with a large Train, was by the Natives (who were unwilling to part with their Possessions, to gratify a potent Stranger) prohibited to dwell there peaceably, for while he studied to keep that he had already seized on, they might strive to regain their own, and out him of his usurped Dominion: Upon no other Account can he be imagined to have named it, but that he did, is not only improbable but false, it being named before *Cain* moved one Foot in his Journey.

After *Cain*, either by Stratagem or Strength, by Policy or Pity of the Inhabitants, had assured himself of their Favours, he is not slack to endeavour a total Conquest of their Hearts, by all the obliging Kindnesses he could think on: Here it is likely he took his Wife, for before *Seth's* Birth, I cannot find that *Adam* had any Daughters with whom he could make up an incestuous Marriage; but he was fled before that Time. If it be pretended that *Adam* had Daughters, for the proof of them let an Authority be produced; with greater Reason it may be alleged

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ledged, God made more than *Adam* at the Beginning; but *Moses* intending only to compile a History of his Countrymens Originals and Transactions, on purpose omitted mentioning them.

In the Land of *Nod*, *Cain's* Wife bears him a Son, whom he named *Enoch*, to whose Memory he built a City; but from whence could he be supplied with Workmen or Materials, if Experience had not taught them how to use, and where to find them? *Adam's* Family being then not able to furnish him with one Person to forward his Design; therefore there were Men *besides Adam*.

Object. It is not impossible to foresee what will be objected against this Paradox, as First, That there was not a Man to Till the Earth.

Ans^w. This is a figurative Speech, and scarce has the Force of an Objection; for this Expression must be understood of *Paradise*, being *synecdoche partis*, a kind of Phrase most usual in Scripture.

Thus it is said, That at the Passion of our Saviour (who freely spent his Blood to redeem us from that Bondage our Disobedience had subjected us to, for by this Means alone was Salvation attainable) the whole Land for three Hours Space,

Space, from Twelve to Three, was involved in Darkness, the Sun hiding his beauteous Face, as loth to be Spectator of so horrid a Wickedness; the Sky putting on her Sables, to testify her Sorrow, and the Earth rending her Bowels with Groans, grieving to be made the Theatre of such a Tragedy; but this Darkness extended little farther than *Judea*; so when *Moses* affirms that there was not a Man found to Till the Ground, it is either because Man was not as yet made, or because God, designing the keeping of *Eden* to some extraordinary Person, would not confer that Dignity on one of these which were already created; but that Man was not then made is most credible.

The most forcible Objection is that of *Gen. ii. 20.* where it is said, That the Lord found not an Help-meet for *Adam*, wherefore he causeth a deep Slumber to seize his Senses, and, in the Interim, taking a Rib of *Adam's* Side, he made Woman of it. A Creature born to enamour, and made to fetter Peace to this earthly Ball, which had many Ages since, *Astrea*-like, flown to Heaven, and left Discord to domineer here on Earth; had not this noble Sex (by all means likely to gain

gain Success) endeavoured to stop those Breaches Men's Contention had made. Nature was never more worthy of our Gratitude than now; the best of her Productions come short of this single Benefit; for had she never made Woman, Man had never been acquainted with true Happiness; Life's worse then a Tragedy without them, and the worst of Miseries has a Scene of Mirth in it, where they are Partners. *Alceste's* Piety may be an Example to Posterity. *Lucretia's* Chastity is an Emblem of all Virtue. *Semiramis's* Actions an Epitome of Courage and Policy; and she that has the least of such Endowments, has Merit enough to shame Man's Assurance, which blushes not to challenge Perfection wholly to their own Sex: As if these, whose Words are Magick, whose Beauties are Magnets, whose Gestures are Charms, whose Smiles are Philters, whose Looks have Power to dishearten Vice, and whose meanest Excellency deserves perpetual Encomia were not worthy to share in their Glory; it is the Humour of some Brain-Sick, Phanatick Zealots, ever to be inveighing against Woman; the particular Lapses of some few, are in their

their Conceit a sufficient Argument to prove them generally faulty; as if, forsooth, because *Balaam's* Beast chid his Master for his Churlishness, therefore all Asses must rail against Women; what, because they want Power to defend themselves, is it therefore Gallantry or Manhood basely to insult over them? It is Charity to lend our best Assistances to protect such as need it. If Women be frail, is it well done to sport at their Misery? Or, because they want Orators for to plead their Innocency, is it Bravery to defame them? It was *Eve's* hard Destiny to be born a Woman, otherwise it never had been fabled that she was the Author of Man's Fall. For albeit she presented the Fruit to her Husband, she did not force him to eat it; what she did, was out of love to *Adam*, whom she thought to make capable of the highest Undertakings, by eating this Apple; for so the subtle Serpent persuaded her. And who would have refused a Proffer promising so much Good, as the Knowledge of Good and Evil? Such an inveigling and charming Temptation could not fail of Success.

Object. But I have followed Women too far, and left *Adam* in *Paradise*.

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without a fit Consort; and where shall we find one, since *Moses* affirms there was not an Help-meet for him?

Ans^w. This Instance does not imply an absolute Nullity of Women, but that God having bestowed on *Adam* more Wisdom than on any of his fellow Creatures, and, perhaps, designing to make him Lord of a great Part, if not of the whole World, thought none of these Women he had already made, worthy this Man's Embraces; therefore he makes *Eve*, Bone of his Bone, and Flesh of his Flesh, because, *he sought a godly Seed*, Mal. ii. 15. Thus Princes esteem it a Disparagement to marry any of their Lineage, but to such as are of a Royal Descent; upon this Account it might be said, there was not found an Help-meet for *Adam*. God may be supposed to have used this Plot with great Reason; for *Adam* being Master of the World's Monarchy, his Subjects would be proud to imitate him, *Regis ad exemplum totus componitur orbis*. Now *Eve* being as near allied to him as his own Flesh, how could he but shew all the Signs of a deeply-engaged Affection, and treat her with all imaginable Kindness? his Subjects then knowing with what Re-
spect

spect and Love their Prince did use his Bride, would count it Gallantry to follow his Example, and behave themselves with the like Tenderness towards their Wives, which is a Policy no way derogatory to God's Wisdom; for can the Affairs of a Marriage Bed be carried on with greater Hopes of Prosperity, than when and where Affection is rooted? And who more fit to be Agent in this grand Concern than *Adam*, who had both Power to command, and Wit to commend this Virtue to them? Hence I conclude, that altho' there was not found a Help-meet for *Adam*, yet there might be Women enough; for if God treated Man after that manner he did the rest of the Creatures, then they were made Male and Female in the same Instant; but the World was acquainted with several of *Adam's* Transactions e'er *Eve* was thought on. That no large Succession of Time intervened betwixt the making of Male and Female, as to other Creatures, is evident, God only uttering, *Let it be done*, and it was so; or why he should alter his former Method (tho' *Moses* be more careful to particularize out of what Man was compounded, it proves not that God here changed his Resolutions,

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tions, and left off using his *Fiat*) will scarce be known without Revelation.

Object. How is it possible, will some say, that *Adam's* Posterity should be branded with original Sin, if there were Men besides him?

Ans^w. As though we, who can hardly remember what were the Transactions of the last twelve Months, could give an Account of what was done six thousand Years since; or, as if we, who cannot understand that which is daily exposed to our View, were able to comprehend that which is more secret than Misery! While we cavil about its Original, we are less careful to withstand its Assault, giving this unavoidable Sin Opportunity thereby to do us more Harm. To trace out the Birth of this Sin is easy, but to know how it should seize upon us, who live so many Ages after its first rise, (never considering whether there were Men besides *Adam* or not) is not only difficult, but almost impossible: Yet, what if God entrusting *Adam* with the keeping of *Eden*, and charging him not to eat of the Fruit of that Tree which was in the midst of the Garden, and not yet denying him the free Use of any other. But he insolently disobeys God's Command, where-

whereupon he dooms all Mankind for *Adam's* Offence; for as Princes, when they make a League with any Neighbour King, do not only oblige themselves faithfully to observe such Articles as are then agreed on, but their Subjects also, at least inclusively, though they are not at all made privy to his Proceedings; and if this Prince upon any Design forfeit his Faith so solemnly engaged, the wronged Prince may lawfully endeavour by Force, to make the other sensible of his Fault, not in the Interim sparing to make the Lives and Fortunes of his Subjects pay for the Folly of their Prince. Nor will any accuse his Successors of unjust dealing, though their Rigour exceed his Predecessor's Revenge, till some engage to make Satisfaction; so *Adam*, who, we will suppose was possessed of the World's Empire, solemnly promised God to observe his Injunctions; but he soon forgot Performance, the next Minute almost finding him regardless of his Vow, and unmindful of God's Command; whereupon he calls him to an Account for this Misdemeanor, which he being not able to answer, God not only punisheth *Adam*, but all his Subjects; nor is it unjustly done, to make his Posterity

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sterity sensible of his Offence ; for albeit, Christ has made Satisfaction, yet, has he not wholly taken away our Guilt.

Thus did the *Macedonians* * of old, not only make Traytors against their Prince, Examples of Justice, and reward their Treason with an ignominious Death, but their whole Stock also were liable to the same Punishment, if the Prince's Pity did not mitigate the Law's rigour ; and if it did, 'twas only a Reprieve from a dishonourable Death to a disgraceful Life, the continual Disgrace of the one, being worse than the momentary Pangs of the other. Here we shall leave *Adam*, to take a Survey of the Angels.

* *Quintus Curtius in vita Alex. Lib. 7.*



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THE ANGELS

Did not FALL.

DID not Scripture teach us a more sublime Kind of Philosophy, than ever was learnt in the Peripatetic Schools, we might as soon expect to find Satan amongst the Saints, as think to be able by their Principles, to prove the being of Angels; for these sometimes strange Occurrences, which some are so zealous to make the particular Employment of Angels, Dæmons, or Intelligencies may be the Effects of mere Matter. Who would not esteem it miraculous to hear the angry Skies echo forth their mighty Thunder-Claps, and see the scouling Clouds vomit their Wrath in Flames? Who would not wonder to find the Earth in a cold Ague-Fit, trembling as though she were ready to sink under him, and Mountains toss'd like Tennis-Balls? Were these natural Effects but visible in an Age
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or two, every one would be ready to register them for Miracles; but because they are common, we admire them less, when other puny Phænomena which happen seldomer, pass in our Esteem, for the extraordinary Works of Angels. These Occurrences, I say, which sometimes befall in Nature, prove not their Existence; we daily see mere Matter move without their Assistance. So that had we not God's own Affidavit (though indeed his Assertion be more legible in prophane than Holy Writ) to convince us, and confirm this Persuasion, *Aristotle* might squabble himself out of Breath before he should gain a Profelyte to his Opinion; but seeing we have God's Warrant, we may believe there are Angels, which are immortal, immaterial, incorruptible, intellectual Beings, ordained by God, purposely to attend his Service; not that his own State could be bettered thereby, or that he stood in need of their Aid, but because he was pleased to make them Spectators of his Glory.

It is fancied by most Men now-a-days, that these Angels were scarce well seated in this Dignity, till some of them began to repine at their Condition, thinking themselves but meanly employed, if each of them

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The ANGELS did not Fall. 25

them had not a World to govern. This Ambition made them slack that Obedience they owed God, but he to punish their Presumption, takes away from them all Means of aspiring farther, making them now more miserable, than before they were happy. For he disrobes them of their former Glory, confines them to a Place where Horror, Pain, Despair, and all Torments that may be imagined, continually tortured them; yea, though Christ himself should stake his Life to win their Liberty, his Attempt could not work their Relapse, because they are already sentenced to live in eternal Torments. Those, who are so earnest to maintain the Fall of Angels, are able to prove this their Assertion either by natural Reason or Scripture; but neither of them can afford Argument to prove this Tenet, for how can we (altho' Nature hath bestowed on us large Privileges) be acquainted with their Fall, when we are doubtful of their Existence? Nor did Scripture ever teach any such Doctrine; therefore the Angels did not Fall, or if they fell from their primitive Glory, yet have they Hopes to regain it.

Though God many times exercises his Omnipotence in such Actions as the

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26 *The ANGELS did not Fall.*

wisest Head is at a loss to find the Manner, how they are done, or for what End they are designed ; altho', I say, many of God's Actions, if not all, puts human Reason to a Non-plus in its search, yet we ought in Reverence to so great a Name, to have Thoughts of our Maker, worthy of him, and not broach our Inventions to scandalize his Mercy, and detract from his never-sufficiently to be applauded Goodness. But while we defend the Fall of Angels, others are prone to doubt of God's Mercy, or to despair of their future Happiness, suspecting, that all these Promises, which are bequeathed them, are only politic Pretences to delude silly Hearers ; for if God (say they) damn'd his Angels, how can we presume to hope to be *saved*?

If God be merciful, then the Angels did not Fall ; but God is merciful, for either these Angels were by him ordained to suffer a Lapse, or not, but he alone did both know and design their Fall. If he designed their Fall, how can we think that he would not pity their Condition, and retract his former Resolution? for when God decreed this (tho' it may be more probable, that he never did so) the Angels were not in being ; but would he doom them, which from Eternity he had chosen
to

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to be Admirers of his Greatness, and adorn'd with such Wisdom, that they were the nearest Resemblances of that Majesty they served; is it possible that he would Sentence them, before they were taken from the Womb of Nothing? Could they offend before they were created? Did they sin before they were? Or were they Delinquents before they had a Being? It is a Cruelty Barbarism would blush at, and Impiety scorn to patronize! Who can conceive that God could take delight to form such Creatures, as he was certain would soon become the miserable Objects of his implacable Anger, and whose Pride would forfeit his Favour? Let every one think he would rather chuse they should never be, than ever be unhappy; for what Applause or Profit could accrue to him from their Misery? Seeing God did foresee their Fall, doubtless his Goodness would induce him not to let them be plunged into an eternal Hell.

God is Omniscient, not being ignorant from Eternity what Issues all Ages past and to come would produce: He therefore knowing that a Desire of Rule would cause these Angels to rebel, could not but hinder their Attempts, and if he found

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them culpable, yet his Mercy would plead Exemption from the Punishment their Misdemeanor deserved. For invincible Ignorance, which was the strongest Motive to foment this Rebellion of the Angels, (they both being ignorant why they were created, and how powerful God was) escapes Correction; if they endeavoured to know how much belonged to them, they did enough to excuse their Error; for none can expect, or in Justice exact from us more than we are able to perform; but who can dive into the secretly-carried-on Designs of God? So that had they ever offended, he would not condemn them to perpetual Misery, in respect of this their invincible Ignorance, which fairly sued out their Pardon.

God is Just, therefore the Angels did not Fall; for would he doom them without Trial? Would he condemn them before they offended? Or sentence them before they had the Opportunity either to plead their Innocence, or freely to confess themselves culpable? The worst of Women could tell *Creon* King of *Corinth*, *Creusas's* Father, and Father-in-Law to* *Jason*, that
(*Medea*)

* *Qui statuit aliquid, parte inaudita altera,*

Aequum licet statuerit haud æquus fuit. Seneca Trag.

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(Medea) quasi *μὴδίζ* non divina impia, illa dixit.

Video meliora proboque—deteriora sequor.

But is it conceivable, that God, who is Justice it self, would do that which a Woman, a barbarous Heathen, a Sink of all Wickedness, and in short a *Medea*, a Name which speaks all Evil, could lawfully find fault with and inveigh against? Who does not know that such Actions are of too base an Alloy to challenge Him their Author; therefore the Angels did not Fall.

For God is not *προσωποληπτης*, no partial Judge. Why then should he deal thus partially with his Creatures, shewing to some of them such extraordinary kindness, that we who are assured of its Certainty, can scarce believe it, yet evidencing such an horrid kind of Rigour towards others, that to lose ten Millions of Lives (had they so many to expatiate their Crime) and the loss of each Life, attended with ten Thousand Years of Torments, more intolerable than ever Hell was stor'd with, would be a Sport, if compared with their Misery? that God, I say, should for one and the same Fault, punish the Offenders after a Manner so strangely different, is not very credible.

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credible. Did he send his Son to redeem lost Mankind, and yet left the Angels destitute of such Means to attain Redemption? Whether was the Disobedience of *Adam*, or the suspected Pride of *Lucifer* a more sinful Attempt? Whether did *Lucifer's* Presumption, or *Adam's* actual Rebellion, deserve the severer Doom? Did God affect Man so dearly, that the Angels (which he loved so entirely for their Wit and Beauty) could neither beg nor obtain the like Favour at his Hands? If they could intreat Christ to let them enter into the Herd of Swine, why did they not implore God's Mercy before they fell? These, which were such earnest Suitors to our Mediator for a poor momentary Enjoyment, is it possible the same Offenders could not desire his Father to alter his Judgment, and free them from eternal Pain? And only because they are thus refractory to beg a Reprieve, they are thought to be void of all Hopes of regaining their former Glory; but we have the undoubted Testimony of Scripture, to assure us, that sometimes they have solicited God for smaller Benefits than this, therefore they did not fall; or if they did, the Probability that they may be re-instated in their primitive Glory, is not taken away. For

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For to think there was such a Pride in these Angels, that they should be jealous of their Creator's Greatness, or imagine that Height which they aspired to attainable; that they should, I say, harbour any such fond Conceit, is an Opinion too improbable, any one may conjecture, seeing God endowed them with more Wisdom than that of their fellow Creatures; and this Surplusage of Knowledge does, I think, strongly argue the Falseness of this Supposition. That they were so nobly qualified, is affirmed by Great *Dubartas* speaking of them,

*I am resolv'd that the Omnipotent,
Created you Immortal, Innocent,
Good, Fair, and Free and in brief Essence
such,
As Adam his own differ'd not very much.*

The Angels being thus qualified, could not but see their Attempt was the wickedest Treason, and that the Arm which had Power to raise them to such Glory, was also able to conquer their Ambition, and defeat their most secret Plots: They were sure, that God could not only gain Victory by their
Mis-

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Miscarriages, but easily subdue their strongest Forces, when they promised themselves assured Conquest; and if they sought silently to desert his Service, they were certain God had not only Policy enough to dive into Designs, as soon as they were thought on, but had also Power to baffle them.

Finding then all Ways of Escape barricadoed up, how could they think on a Revolt? It is not likely that such transcendently-wise Spirits could (by all the promising Shews of enticing Greatness) be beguiled into such an Error, or that there was such Blindness in their Judgments, that they should conjecture their Project could take Effect. If they had so little Wit as those proud aspiring Giants who once warred against *Jupiter*, then it's possible they might affect to be so high, but being enriched with so choice and large a Stock of Knowledge, it will puzzle Fancy to conceive how they should commit an Oversight, the Epitomy of all Folly, and wherein nothing but the Traces of the greatest Indiscretion are discernible.

The Angels therefore being Masters of so much Wisdom, its scarce credible they would attempt to equal themselves with

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with God, or grudge at their Condition, and consequently they did not Fall.

Again, if there be no Hell (such a Place, I mean, as God has set a-part to torment profligate Sinners in, and where the Angels immediately after their (supposed) Lapse were confined, not only to suffer for their Presumption; but withal, to be Executioners of God's Justice) then the Angels did not Fall; but there is no Hell.

To Instance that universal Ignorance concerning this Place, might with some shew of Probability be alleged to prove its Non-Existence; for, except the bold Assertions of some Poets*, it would be no difficult Task to maintain against the ablest Opponent, that Hell never existed in Nature.

For if there be a Hell, then was it made by God on some of the six Days of the Creation; but neither on the First, Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth, or Sixth, therefore not at all, and consequently there is no Hell; for when the sixth Day had measured out its Period, God ceased from all his Works.

* *Virgil* Lib. vii. *Hesiod* in *Theogonia*. *Lucian*, Dialog. *Homer* Lib. iv. *Odys.* *Sen.* Trag. A& 2.

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That Hell was not made the first Day of the Creation, will, I think, be by every one assented to : For then the World's whole Mass was but a confused Heap, a dark Chaos, and a shapeless Rudiment of a future Being, till God caused the Light to rise from its black Bosom, which was the Product of this Day's Labour.

2. Hell being a Place ordained by God to afflict Sinners in, we may lawfully conjecture that he would not make it before there was actual Sin ; but there was no Sin committed this Day. For Sin is an Act of a rational Creature against the Laws of God ; but there was not as yet any rational Creatures formed, therefore Hell was not made the First Day.

Nor on the Second : For if so, it is situated either above, or beneath the Firmament. Not above, because there is the Habitation of the Saints, where they possess Happiness in its naked Essence, and Felicity not comprehensible by them which enjoy it. But that Hell should border so near upon Heaven, is not credible ; for so the Condition of the Damned should not be much worse than that of the Blessed.

2. *Moses* expressly mentions the Actions of every Day ; but neither on this, nor any

any other does he assert Hell was made : Which if he had but so much as dream'd of, 'tis without all Question he never would forget to threaten the *Jews* with, whose often rebellious Tumults forced him, many Times, to behave himself towards them with extraordinary Rigour. For what could sooner dismay them, than the Fear of an After-Hell ? This would soonest scare them from Sedition. And though it may be fancied, he would not disclose his Thoughts in this Case, because they would be ready to doubt of the Truth of that which they were not at present sensible of, yet was he sure, tho' his Words would hardly win Belief, his constant Attestation would startle them, and cause some either to credit him, or cease to be seditious. Hell, therefore, not being above the Firmament, was not made the Second Day ; neither is it under the Firmament, therefore Hell was not made the Third Day.

For, if Hell be beneath the Firmament, then is it either in the Air, or in the Earth ; but it is neither in the Air, nor Earth. Not in the Air, because this Element is less ponderous than the Earth ; but Man's Body is made of Earth ; so that when all Mankind shall rise from
F 2 Death,

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Death, to receive a Crown of Glory, or an eternal Curse, their weighty Bodies will press them below Hell, and so the Devil, their Gaoler, shall be every Minute compelled to raise the *Hue-and-Cry* to overtake his flying Prisoners.

2. If there be any Hell, then 'tis a Place which is shrouded and enveloped with perpetual Darkness; Light being as great a Stranger there as Comfort: But the Air is daily visited by the Sun, whose cheerful Beams enlighten every Region; *Aurora* every Morning hastening from her Pillow, to bring us the welcome Tidings of the approaching Day.

3. The Air supplies the Earth with Showers, and from hence she derives all her Blessings; but that Hell should be the Store-house of so many and such necessary Goods, that it, out of his Store, should be so careful to furnish Mankind, and pity his Necessities, is not probable: For it would be a Plot worthy the Devil to deprive Man of these Enjoyments, that he, grudging at God's niggardly Distributions, may thereby incur his Displeasure, which is the chiefest Thing the Devil ever aims at; therefore Hell is not in the Air.

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Nor is Hell in the Earth ; for then 'tis
either above its outward Surface, or be-
neath. Not above, because Hell is (says
N. L. in *Politeuphia*) a Deep without
Bottom, a Fire ever burning, a Place full
of distracting Horrors, and eternal Mife-
ries, but the Earth may rather be named
a Paradise, which comprehends all Plea-
sure ; an *Eden*, always flourishing ; a
Nursery of Delight, a Magazine of Mirth,
a Place surpassing Commendation ; and,
which far excels that *Elysium* so much
famed by the *Poets*, where they say,

*Woods crown the Brooks, and cloath the Banks
about*

*With leafy Vales, which Phœbus Fire keep
out.*

*The Boughs cool Shades, the moist Earth
yields rare Flow'rs :*

*Here Heat nor Cold the deathless Spring de-
vours ;*

*Here Songs and Dances revel, choice Birds fly
From Tree to Tree, warbling sweet Melody :*

*The wild Shrubs bring forth Cassia ev'ry
where,*

*The bounteous Soil doth fragrant Roses bear :
Youths intermixt with Maids, disport at Ease,
Incountring still in Love's sweet Skirmishes.*

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The Earth abounding thus with all Sorts of Pleasures, it cannot be that Hell should be there ; for so the Damned should not change their Habitation, and those Delights they wallowed in while they lived, they will enjoy after Death more easily ; for the Soul being then disburthen'd of its Load of Flesh, can travel this Globe about in a Moment : And though, in that State it cannot make use of those Delights it meets with, yet its daily Converse amongst them will render such a Condition less grievous.

2. It decries God's Goodness, to make that Place, which he ordain'd to receive the kind Influences of Heaven, and which he order'd Man to possess ; I say, to make Hell there, seems to derogate very much from that especial Kindness he has ever had for Man : *Hell*, therefore, is not above the Earth.

Neither is *Hell* within the Bowels of the Earth : For its Circumference taking in the Sea also, (which, in *Scaliger's* Opinion, overflows two Parts of Three) is no more (according to the Calculation of the ablest *Geographers*) * than 22600 *Italian Miles*. Admit, therefore, that the Earth's

* *Scaligeri Exercitat* o 38.

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Earth's whole Diameter (which is always the * third Part of his Circumference, being $7339\frac{1}{3}$ Miles should be hollowed to receive the Reprobate ; suppose, likewise, that the Devil had but the Income of 8000 Souls every Year, and, to give the Devil his due, his Revenue would be exceeding small, considering the large Extent of his Empire, *Europe, Asia, Africa,* and *America*, yielding him more or less Tribute hourly : Admit, I say, that *Hell* should have such an Annual Income in six Thousand Years Space (and more than so many Years the Glass of Time has already run out) it would amount to forty-eight Millions of Souls, the Half of which Number *Hell* could not contain, allowing but one Yard of Room to each Person there ; and except they were less than *Pigmies*, we cannot conceive how they should not take up more Room. For, when Time shall be no more, and God shall summon every Soul to appear before him, they shall rise cloathed with the same Bodies they had before their *Exit* hence : For, 'tis but just that *that* Body which lately enjoyed all Delight with the Soul, should then participate in its Punish-

* J. A. Commenius in *Ludo Literario*.

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Punishment (the Body, peradventure, being a main Prompter of it to Sin) and that *that* Body which once suffered with the Soul, should now share in its Felicity; Hell, therefore, has no Existence in Nature, if we take it for such a Place, as keeps these Angels Prisoners, which are supposed to be here confined for their Pride against God, and to execute their Fury on miserable Offenders.

Because, when God had survey'd his Six Day's Work, he concludes all to be very good, but Hell cannot be so; for how should that which is the Source of all Wickedness, the Original of all Evil, and Sink of Sin, be good? Some may say, that it is not good, but necessary; for in respect it is a Place where God executes Justice against Delinquents, it may lawfully challenge this Title; but, on as good Grounds, may Sin it self be so termed: For because Men Sin, God punisheth them, making their Misdemeanours the Object of his Justice; therefore there is no Hell.

For, if there be a Hell, it must, according to the common Opinion, be Fiery, and that in so high a Degree, as may sufficiently punish the Faults of wilful Offenders, who wickedly enrage an eternal
God:

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God: But there is no such Fire; for it must either be material, corporeal, and like this our ordinary, or spiritual Fire. Not material Fire; for the Soul being an immaterial Substance, how can it be damaged by a Thing so opposite in Nature to it, as is material Fire? Nor does the Body alone abide the Conflicts of this searching Element; otherwise these Pangs, which are the Effects of the *Gout*, or *Stone*, would be found not to be much more intolerable than the hottest Fire in Hell.

Again; If material Fire can, at any time, afflict the Soul, what will obstruct its Operation, while this noble Essence is vested with a Body? And why might it not then torment the Souls of those Martyrs, who sealed their Faith with their Blood, and willingly underwent a fiery Tryal to maintain his Name, who bought their Redemption at the Price of his own Life? But their harmless Souls left their Mansions without a Groan, the strongest Evidence of their Freedom from Torment; therefore the Fire of Hell is not material. And what can spiritual Fire be, but only the miserable Sufferings of a restless Conscience, disquieted for the Loss of Heaven? In this Sense
G there

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there is a Hell. For, what Punishment can equal the Loss of a Felicity which cannot be comprehended by us? What can render Man's Misfortune more im-bitter'd, than this eternal Disadvantage? And which augments Man's Misery, he has none, in this case, to blame but himself: For Christ did not dye intestate. I appeal to him that flights all worldly Preferments; who undervalues all earthly Dignities; who scorns the Charms of Honour, and disdains to embrace these Glories, though they should court him, which most Men pursue with Hazard, and stake their Lives and Fortunes to gain. Such an one, I dare avouch, altho' he contemned the greatest Empire, yet would he storm impetuously to see himself deprived of that Good, by his own Carelessness. And what then can Man expect? Those that strive not to tenant Heaven, must resolve never to enjoy any of its Delights, but be perpetually tormented in Hell; that is, *He shall suffer an eternal Deprivation of Heaven's never-ending Joys.* This is that spiritual Fire which God so often threatens Sinners with. The Thoughts of this Loss is more than an Emblem of *Fire, Brimstone, Weeping, Wailing, and Gnashing of Teeth.* The
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Loss of Heaven (says the most elegant St. Chrysostom) is more grievous to the Damned, than the Torments of Hell ; and a disquieted Conscience finds more Torture in its own Bosom, than ever Hell had. Witness the miserable Fate of *Spiras*.

No sooner is our Thread spun to its greatest Length, and Death's grim Serjeant arrests our frail Bodies, than the Soul (having cast off his Load of Clay) calls to Mind, and takes a Survey of its former Actions. It begins then to exercise its Functions more vigorously, and read over the fatal Copy of its black Deeds, where it finds so many Crosses, Afflictions, Miseries, Losses, and Disadvantages to vex it, that we cannot, in *Hyperbolies*, paint out the least of its Distractions. For, what Torture exceeds the Pangs of a self-accusing Conscience ? whose strong Pleas will cause the stoutest to tremble, and tremble to hear an Indictment of such Evidence brought in. What greater Damnation is there, than the severe Doom of a Man's own Conscience ? What more grievous, than its guilty Remorse ? Or, what Woe more Despair-creating, than the continual Pursuits of an hellish rebellious Conscience ? Which,

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tho' it seems, for a Time, to have forgot the Sense of all Sorrow, yet, when *Atropos* is ready to untwist the Thread, it evidently showers forth at the Eyes; these flowing Cataracts opening a Passage for the Soul to let her Grief out at, which till now, was silent; not daring to peep into View, while we could presume to live a Minute longer. This made the venerable *Isidore* cry out, *Oh! quam gravis est pœna conscientiae, nulla pœna gravior*: All the Afflictions of another Hell, being not worth the Notice of a timorous School-Boy. This made the Poet to exclaim in a much different Strain,

*Heu quantum pœnæ mens conscia donat!
 —Sua quemq; premit terroris imago,
 Criminibus tacitis, sudant præcordia fibris,
 —quos diri conscia facti
 Mens habet attonitos, Et surdo verberare cædit.*

Hell and a bad Conscience are Relatives; a moral Pair, being both married to one Soul. The Conscience is the Sun, Hell but its Shadow; when it has mew'd up its midnight Light, this turns Recluse, and becomes a cloyster'd Nun; as tho' it beseemed her to quit the World when her Lord is absent. Hell, I say, is the Child of a bad Conscience; the Bastard
of

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of a Bankrupt-Soul ; the Vomit of a debauch'd Mind ; and that which is to be only awake when the Body rings its latest Knell, and the Soul's ready to cast off its earthly Shell. For if Happiness consists in the Enjoyment of Heaven's dear Bliss, and the unclouded Tranquility of a peaceful Conscience, then must Hell be a Privation of these sweet Delights, and the Rackings of a discontented Soul. But that Felicity comprehends them both, is more certain than that the wily Serpent lisp'd *Hebrew* when he beguiled *Eve*. For,

*Quænam summa boni ? Mens sibi conscia recti,
Nil conscire sibi, nulla pallescere culpa.*

Hell cannot plead Prescription ; 'tis but the abortive Issue of a despairing Soul. It being then only in its rise, when the Body's in its wane, and beginning in its Ashes ; Hell, therefore, is not a Place made as soon as Time began, but had its Birth many Years after *Adam's* Fall ; nor is it a Place made by God on any of the Six Days of the Week, but is only the Loss of Heaven, and the Vexations of a self-condemning Conscience. Hence I conclude, the Angels did not suffer any such

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such Lapse as is generally supposed, there being no such Thing as Hell (if we take that Term in its vulgar and usual Sense) where they could be confin'd.

Objection. 'Tis needless to travel as far as *Delphos*, it may be easily guess'd, without consulting *Apollon*, what will be here objected, *What did not the Devil tempt unforwarned Eve to eat the Fruit which God had forbidden her to touch? But he's a fallen Angel.*

Answer. Eve's not indebted to the Devil for her Fall; the same *Serpent which was more subtil than any Beast of the Field*, (*Gen. iii. 1.*) prompted her to this Action. It was he that used so much successful Eloquence, and, by the Strength of his Persuasion, stagger'd her Constancy. 'Twas this wily Beast which founder'd her Belief; and, by his sly Insinuations, won her to alter, more than God's Command. She arms herself with Courage to practise his Counsel, resolving rather to steer by his Directions, than be tutored by God's Wisdom. She concludes to quit all other Interests, rather than want the *Knowledge of Good and Evil*; counting it restraint to be denied her Choice. For, since it was but one single Tree God prohibited her, she could not

not tell how to mistrust the Serpent's Affections, thinking indeed, that this *Apple*, which God was so industrious to keep from them, had some extraordinary Vertue. It was the *Serpent*, I say, a *Beast of the Field*, which seduced *Eve*; who, it may be, tho' he could not speak articulately, yet could she interpret his Hisses, and understand his Meaning in that Dialect. Thus did the *Augurs* of old, read future Events by the Voices of Birds; and so successful were their Predictions, that a contrary Chance seldom proved them mistaken. 'Tis reported by *Agrippa* (Lib. 1. Cap. 55. *Occult. Philosoph.*) from *Philostratus* and *Porphyrus*, that *Apollo-nius Tyanaeus* was so excellent herein, that sitting with a Company of his Friends, and espying a *Sparrow* come chattering to a Flock which was beside him, he told his Companions that this strange *Sparrow* had related to the rest, how an *Ass* laden with Wheat was fallen in a narrow Lane near the City, where they might feed plentifully on the scatter'd Grain. Nor was he deceiv'd in his *Prediction*, for some which doubted of its Truth, made their own Eyes Witnesses of its undeniable Certainty. *Eve* might be skill'd in this Kind of *Divination*, as well

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well as *Thales*, *Melampus*, and *Tiresias*; and, from his inarticulate Speech, guess what he intended. Again, what, if Beasts had then a Language not only proper to their several Kinds, but one in common, understood by each different Species; for if the Devil did not use this *Serpent* as an Instrument in tempting *Eve*, there is no other Way to explicate this Doubt. But he did not use this *Serpent* to betray her.

1. It had been to prevent his own Resolutions, and render his Project successless: This had prov'd a Defeat by which he intended to win his Conquest; and the same Hand which he employ'd to forward his Design, would be the readiest Way to undo it. For, what Horrour would have seized a dismay'd Woman, to hear a Beast act the Orator? This would have rather induc'd her to retreat, than to entertain any Conference with him. His Speech (had he till then been speechless) manifestly discover'd the Imposture; and that which the silly Devil made use of to deceive, would have defeated his Plot: It being a strange Folly to make use of that Creature to procure Attention, whose very Look would dismay the bravest Spirit, and dart Terror into the stoutest Heart.

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Heart. Though the Serpent, perhaps, retain not the same Shape he had at first, yet doubtless there were Beasts more beautiful, and whose Countenances were in greater likelihood of preserving them from Contempt, and her from Fear; Women always affecting *that* in another, to be Masters of which is their only Ambition.

2. There's no Maxim more certain in *Philosophy* than this: *The Serpent should not be punish'd for a Misdemeanour which he was not guilty of.* It would be as little Justice to condemn the Sword, and let the Murderer escape Correction, as condemn the innocent Beast for *Satan's* Fault. For how could he avoid his unwelcome Familiarity? Or be able to shut his Mouth when he open'd it? They must needs run whom the Devil drives. But we find the Serpent only arraigned and convicted for this Crime; so that he did not suffer for another's Offence, but his own Fault. God's Indictment runs particularly against him; *Thou art cursed above all Cattle of the Field, because Thou hast done this Thing*; and the Curse aims only at the Serpent, which it would not have done, had not he singly been culpable, and out of Envy tempted Eve.

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3. If

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3. If the Devil be a fallen Angel, and seduced our naked *Parent*, then was he cast from Heaven for some Sin against God ; where, when he found himself degraded from all Glory, he resolves (if he could) to draw others into the same Conspiracy, and thereupon wickedly deluded poor *Eve*. But what's more evident, than that Sin was a Stranger to the World till *Adam's Fall* ; *For by one Man Sin entered into the World*, Rom. v. 12. Hence, 'tis plain, that the Angels never lapsed from their first State, but still remain in their primitive Condition ; and that *Eve* was not tempted by the Devil, supposed to be once an Angel of Light ; but was fool'd into this Error by the powerful Persuasions of the deceitful Serpent, *who was more subtil than any Beast of the Field besides*. This Observation of *Moses* I take to be an Instance of very great Wisdom, and no small Malice, by which (without the Aid of any other) the Serpent thought himself strongly enough arm'd to cope with *Eve*, and reach that Victory by Parly, which he could not obtain by Force.

Objection 2. If God spared not his Angels that sinned, but cast them down into Hell, and deliver'd them in Chains, to be kept

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kept unto Damnation, 2 Pet. ii. 4. 'Tis from this same Text that most have taken Advantage, to make that Opinion of the Angels Fall, pass current; and hence they gain their best Proof to maintain this Assertion.

But I *Answer*, That the Apostle's Discourse here aims at something else; for, he that duly considers his Scope, will find he shoots at no such Mark, as they fancy. Scan but his Parallel, and then his Drift is evident; for he makes a Comparison betwixt his own, and the Times of old; as if he would say, Had not *Adam's* Family a cursed *Cain*? Did not *Noah* foster an impudent *Cham*? Did not *Abraham* entertain a scoffing *Ismael*? And what House so holy which had not some *Apostate* in it? These God severely punished for their Revolt. But what? Can this Age expect more Good, when the World's grown worse? Or, can we dream we are exempted from such Lapses?

Thus he continues his Parallel: If God did not spare those false Prophets, whose Ignorance might seem to plead in their behalf, what can such as now have the Lamp of the Gospel to guide them, pretend for their Apology? If they were corrected,

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rected, these shall be eternally tormented. In this Place, I say, the Apostle only exhorts the first Church of *Rome*, to continue stedfast in the Faith deliver'd to them, not only because this Doctrine had the Promises of an eternal Reward to render it acceptable ; but also, because that such as slighted it, would at length find their wicked Scorn repaid with sufficient Rigour : And to make his Argument more convincing, he instances God's Severity against the Angels, Ministers, Priests, or Prophets ; for these are equivalent Terms of old ; who, tho' Christ was revealed to them very mysteriously, and, perhaps, the best of their Doctrine was but made up of Traditions, yet God evidences his Wrath in their Punishment.

That Ministers are called Angels needs no other Proof than the *Apocalypse*, where *St. John* is enjoined to write to the Angels of the Churches of *Ephesus*, *Smyrna*, *Pergamus*, *Thyatira*, *Sardis*, *Philadelphia*, and *Laodicea*. Angel does not only signify such intellectual, incorporeal Beings, as are Divine Messengers of the Will of God (such as are the Heralds of Heaven, and Guardians of our Bodies) but indeterminately implies, a Messenger sent upon
any

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any Employment ; whether they be commissioned by God to propose his gracious Promises, or denounce his Threats against such as abuse his Mercies ; or commanded by an earthly Prince on any Designs, it being a Name of Office, *ἄγγελοι*, à *nuntiando*. Thus was Noah's Raven an Angel, and tell-tale Fame pretends to be of the same Fraternity ; and those (eating) Angels, Gen. xviii. 8. who told Sarah, that Providence had a Son in Store for her, and acquainted Abraham, that Sodom would shortly be buried in her own Ashes, prove their Title to this Name with Probability enough.

These Angels, therefore, which apostatiz'd so soon, were Ministers, &c. living about the Time of the Deluge, whom God had charged (or the Function they exercised so obliged them) to take care of, and instruct his People : But they failing in this Duty, he cast them down into Hell ; that is, he either gave them over, by withdrawing his Blessing from them, to the Torture of a bad Conscience, which is the worse and only Hell ; or raised up some, as he did *Daniel*, who disclosed the Treacheries of the Priests of *Bel*, to divulge their Vices

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ces to the secular Magistrate, who had Power to punish their Luxury.

The Text in the Original easily persuades such a Construction ; for thus the Apostle has it, Εἰ γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς ἀγγέλων ἁμαρτησάντων ἐκ ἐρείσατο ἀλλὰ σειραῖς ζοφῶντα ταρῶσας, παρέδωκεν εἰς κρίσιν τέλει μενέ-
vous. If God did not spare his Angels, or Ministers, which sinned, but suffered them to be imprisoned in Darknes, or (as 'tis in the Greek Idiom) in Chains of Darknes, there to be kept till they were adjudged. This Exposition the Text will admit ; for ταρῶσας is a Derivative of ταρῶ, which does not only signify Hell, but a deep Prison rather ; and εἰς κρίσιν does not absolutely import, that they were there preserved to Damnation, but that they were kept there, that after legal Trial, they might receive their Condemnation, or Doom : For these two Words differ exceedingly ; to Condemn being to afflict with any temporal Punishment, which a secular Magistrate may do, where-as to Damn, is to Sentence to everlasting Torment, which God alone can effect.

Objection 3. The Angels which kept not their first State (or Original) but left their own Habitation, he hath reserved in ever-

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lasting Chains unto the Judgment of the Great Day.

Answer. Here also the same Probabilities may be alledged, for the Design is the same in both Places; and he that reads the following Verse (*Jude 7.*) will soon find these Offenders were no other than Men; for they are accused of a *Sarcasm*, and found equally guilty with *Sodom* and *Gomorrha*, and the Cities about them, which (as they did) committed *Fornication*, and followed *strange Flesh*.

Objection 4. The prodigious Effects which sometimes happen in the World, and put Enquiry to a Stand, cannot be done by any Power weaker than that of Angels: But some of them are of so wicked a Nature, that to fancy they are any other than the devilish Productions of fallen Angels, is to act the *Dissembler*; therefore the Angels did fall.

Answer.

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Ἀγγέλους τε τὰς μὴ τηροῦντας τὴν ἐαυτῶν
ἐξουσίαν, ἀλλὰ ἀπολιπόντας τὸ ἴδιον οἰκητήριον,
ὡς κρίσιν μεγάλης ἡμέρας δεσμοῖς αἰδοῖς ἀπο-
βάντων τετηρήκεν.

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Answer. Should these golden Lamps, which adorn Heaven, be deprived of Light ; should the Clouds pour forth a second Deluge, or the whole World sink into nothing ; this would not prove the Being of either good or bad Angels. Experience daily affords us admirable Proofs of Nature's Excellency ; letting us see what strange Productions (without any other Assistance) she is able to bring forth : For did such as are not acquainted with the *Load-Stone's* Operations, but once observe, with what Speed *Iron* flies towards its beloved Object (as if it were proud of its Embraces) they would scarce believe, that any Natural Cause could produce such strange Effects.

Objection 5. To deny the Fall of Angels, is to persuade the World, that there is no Devil ; for the one necessarily depends on the other.

Answer. If the Devil be one of these Rebel-Angels, which are thought to have lost Heaven for their Pride, who may not justly refuse to acknowledge his Existence ? For either has he sometimes heretofore shown himself visibly, or not. But how

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they are bold enough in their Tyranny, and what they seemed before to Request, they now Command with Authority: For, when the Soul leaves her ruin'd House of Clay, she does not then put off all her Passions, some of them are connatural, which, after Death, are both stronger, and more unruly; so that the Soul not being able to give them Satisfaction, they become furious with Want, and make it the Object of their Rage, which is more intolerable than can be expressed. That cowardly Passion, *Fear*, we know, has scar'd some from their Lives, and others, who have had Courage to stare Death in the Face, have made it their Refuge; chusing rather to go off this Stage with Disgrace, and vow their Reputation to eternal Infamy, than dare to encounter this Passion.

As every Faculty of the Soul exceeds those of the Body (even those of the Body derive all their Power from hence) so, if *Fear*, or any other *Passion*, can so far work up the Soul to despair, while it is united with the Body, then of Necessity must their Effects be more violent, when it has no Commerce with it. Our own wild and inordinate *Passions* are therefore these Devils that betray us, while

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while we live and make Felicity incompatible with us; and these same Passions are the Devils that torment and vex us, when we lose all Hopes of tarrying here any longer. And what is an Additional Grief to a Soul thus captiv'd the Loss of Heaven always afflicts it, and the Assurance of no Reprieve, renders this Condition more insupportable.

F I N I S.



